1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-3 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

the two reserves on Wale, Niua belonging to Yato and Uta belonging to Loto, once marked by encircling walls of coral.

The wall (*pa*) surrounding the three land boundaries of Uta (the fourth boundary being the outer beach) was made of slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge, and served not so much to bar entry as to mark off tapu land from land over which all might walk. Those having legitimate business in the reserve were supposed to enter through one of the three gates or breaks in the wall; one (*te pu i te uta*) near the present residency, the second (*te pu i Matala*) at the site of the present watch house at Matala, the third (*te pu i te tuhenga wae*) on the western side.

The stone wall round Niua ran from the head of the western indentation of the lagoon, the present fish pond, northward to the outer beach. There were two gates through this wall, one (*te lauvi alo hi tai*) at the lagoon end of the wall, and the other (*te lauvi tua hi tae*) at the outer beach end of the wall. In some symbolism that informants could not clearly remember the lagoon end is called "the belly of the *lauvi* (a strong, ferocious fish) by the sea", the outer beach end "the back of the *lauvi* by the outer beach."

The stone from both walls was freely used to build coral lime houses in the days of the early missionaries.

VILLAGE GUARDS

Village control over reserve food lands was implemented by tapus enforced by supernormal powers of village gods and by a guard of men called *pulo*; these tapus were directed against outside villagers all the time and were lifted against home villagers only when it was decided by village council to take food from the reserves. When the tapu was raised the guard or all the people of the village were allowed to go to the reserve to collect a fixed amount of food. Visits to the reserve at other times for the purpose of cultivating taio beds were always by permission of the guard. The gods of each village interested in preserving the reserve from thieves sent sickness and other punishments to those who violated the sanctity of the reserve (p. 311).

Both Yato and Loto villages have a well-organized guard which watches the reserves on Wale throughout the year. Ngake, with no reserve on Wale, does not have an organized guard system. Individual villagers, often older men who are not tied down each day with food-procuring duties, are delegated to watch the reef between Wale and Motu Ko and to examine wayfarers along this reef coming from the direction of Motu Ko to see that they are not smuggling stolen foods into Wale. These single guards also watch canoes on the lagoon coming from the direction of Motu Ko. All Ngake canoes are required to beach at Waleton, where they are examined for contraband articles by older men living at this place before being allowed to land their canoes elsewhere.

In Loto and Yato, all men who have reached sociological adulthood are drafted for guard duty. In Loto there are about 50 men able to serve as guards. Each guard is composed of about 25 men, serving for one month. Formerly only men served on Loto guard, but in recent years, when it was

1 Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

625 241 489

poke about under the piles of fern and look into the corners of the canoes. The women are given permission to bring back a few nuts for their own households. All the nuts in the canoes are removed to the beach by the guard, counted out one by one, and (nowadays) the total written down on paper. Once when the guards doing this were two youths who had just attained adulthood (*wuhatone*), it was amusing to see the way they officiously examined the canoes of two elderly men who had gone to Motu Kotawa with the women. The older men, though obviously annoyed with the inquisition, did not dare to make any comment. It is only after the canoes have been given a clearance at this beach that they are allowed to proceed to another beach, nearest to the talo beds, to unload the cargoes of fern leaves.

625 241 203

When a village meeting decides that the villagers shall go to the reserves Ko or Kotawa, for a period to work the talo beds or to procure nuts, the matter is announced to the village by the guard, because it is the guard that oversees this visit and makes sure that none brings from the reserves more than the agreed amount of foods. A typical announcement of this nature, made in Ngake, which has extensive talo beds on Motu Ko, is:

Wakalongolongo mai loolua ki te vanonga ho avatu ki to tama luku. Ka wo loa tama ki te motu. Ko tama nuna ka numai: E takiyaua te niu pagaku, e takiyepulupulu te niu. Yau na mea a te tinau ka numai: E takiuatawelau te wawa. E takiyepulupulu te tamaliki. Ke wo tama ki te motu nei, e ya te kavea, e ya te ngongo, e ya te lakia, e ya te kaka ia, e ya te lupe, e ya te kaipea, e ya te tanga, e ya te wuti, e ya te ngangie. Ko te wui mea ia e wakayutia i to tama motu. Ka nono tama i ai e wiku po, wonumai loa tama. Oti ai.

Listen you to the report to be given to our village. We shall go to the reserve. These are our things we shall bring back: 20 mature nuts each, 10 drinking nuts each. Next the things of the women which they will get: 100 tubers of talo each. For each child, 10 drinking nuts. When we go to the reserve, the crabs (enumerated) and the birds (enumerated), bananas, and *ngangie* wood will be tapu. Those are the things to be tapu in our reserve. We shall stay there for seven nights, then return. That is all.

Throughout the stay on the reserve, the guard reports each night the events of the day, makes sure by inspection visits during the day that the tapu foods are not being touched, and when the time comes to return, goes from house to house, counting the nuts piled up ready for the return trip. Visits to the reserve of Ngake were formerly made on such occasions as follows:

226 123 623 245 685 622

At times fixed by the chief of Ngake and the council of men, all the men would go to Motu Ko to collect nuts and to fish. Young men wishing to go to the reserve at other times to net birds or for whatever purpose, had to procure permission previous to the visit. At one time, it was customary for parties of three or four men to be given permission to fish from the outer reefs of the reserve. Permission was granted for a three days' stay only, and if the men stayed longer than this period, they were automatically considered thieves and treated as such on their return. At other times, at a meeting of the chiefs of the island, men of the other two villages were given permission by Ngake to go to Motu Ko for a set period in order to fish from the reefs.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

431 574 621 527 262

on Mota Ko was so large that Ngake village made a present of 2,000 talo tubers to each canoe from the other two villages that went across to Ko to get the food. This was an act of generosity, marking no set occasion.

2. *Lavaya*, a village feast held today on the completion of some village activity. It formerly occurred on the rising of the Pleiades to celebrate the beginning of the season of plenty. It was timed to coincide with the lifting of the prohibition (*lasi*) on village food reserves. The communal gathering of food for such a feast is also called *lavaya*, as *lavaya kavea* (crabs), *lavaya manu* (birds). A *lavaya* after a tapu period ensures that after the period of privation the special foods will be shared among all the villagers. If talo, nuts, and fish are plentiful when the tapu is raised, the *lavaya* feasting may last for one or two moons. After a preliminary survey of the food resources, the village men decide how many divisions there are to be in each moon and how many moons the food is likely to last. Starting with the first night of the new moon, divisions may be made every 10 days, the last one to coincide with a new moon, either in the first or second month after the commencement of the feasting. This emphasis on the moon as a governing factor in the *lavaya* feast links with the custom of replanting talo and other food plants on the days of the new moon to ensure good growth.

[621]

3. *Ngalunga*, the feast which is held for a village guard at the end of its service in the reserve land or to pay the workers thatching a new house (pp. 36, 76).

4. *Wakamalinga*, the feast provided by the owner of a new canoe or of a new sleep house (not cook house) for the food contributors, the workers, and the principal people of the island. It is a bigger and more elaborate food division than the *ngalunga*, though not elaborate enough to be classed as a *monotanga*.

5. *Kavehaw*, a feast celebrating the end of a fishing contest (*malama*) or other inter-village contest. The food is provided by the whole island. Formerly the old men's group and the sub-chiefs decided on the contribution to be levied from each household. Today this levy is fixed by an informal meeting of village representatives.

[623]

Other feasts discussed in their special context are:

Waele, *tauwanga*, and *pouki*, food divisions for the birth of children; *wailiwau*, food division on the occasion of an important marriage; *pupu wale* and *laukunga*, feasts at death ceremonies; *lauheau*, food divisions held at the command of the chief to mark his induction, the birth of an heir, or a death.

431 574

Iuw hai o te wau is a food division among members of the maternal lineage held on no set occasion, but whenever there is abundant growth of talo in the gardens controlled by the lineage.

527

Special names are given to the feasts of the paternal lineages:

262 613

Laumatanga (animal intestines), feasts of the two Ngake paternal lineages; *malolo alai* (flying fish on the roof), feasts of the Yato lineages; *lingalinga* (land shells), feasts of the Loto lineages. These three names refer to the fishing set-up of the three villages. Ngake and Yato are the rich fishing villages with plentiful supplies of fish for their feasts; Loto is poor in fish supplies and the reference to land shells is indicative of the small amount of flesh food that this village could supply its guests. For these feasts, the reserve lands of the villages are opened by special arrangement, and special delicacies are expected—birds from Motawa, turtle from Ko, and extra supplies of nuts from Uta. A paternal lineage gave a feast of this type at the conclusion of some special work—the building or rethatching of its god house, clearing the ground around its religious structure, clearing up its cemetery, building a new *pinaga* (religious avenue). When other paternal lineages learned that one group proposed to hold a feast, they all joined in sending courtesy gifts of food.

The mechanism is: a Ngake lineage is giving a feast; each household of the Ngake group is levied so much prepared talo; each household makes this amount of talo food and extra talo puddings for friendly households in the other villages which have initi-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

[597] 851 621 602

the village of its adopting father. A child who is not adopted and who continues to reside with its parents in the village of birth may be "given" for economic or sentimental reasons to a male relative, blood or affinal, of either parent, to be affiliated by him with his village. A man refers to a child whom he sponsors in this fashion as his *tuangu tau*. If he were related only by marriage to the child's parents, he would nevertheless continue to sponsor the child even though he later divorced the woman through whom the relationship was traced. A person who is sponsored by a man in another village is closely united to him by ties of sentiment and interest, even though they live apart. A man would not willingly kill his enemy if the enemy had at one time been his *tuangu tau*, even though of distant relationship. (See story of Tuiva, p. 395.)

621 162

The result of the practice of sponsored affiliation is a redivision of food between the three villages: persons not residing in a village receive through membership in it a share of its food, including its unique products (as Yato's fruits, limes and papayas; Loto's sugar cane; or Ngaiir's supplies of crabs).

591 261 621

In most households only one or two children of a large family affiliate away from the home village. Where there are only two or three children in the family they normally affiliate through their father. Sometimes, though rarely, a *tuangu tau* child takes up residence in the household of the man who sponsors him. This is acceptable to the household because it means a gain of extra food shares (*tasi tuangu tau*). The food share of the individual is almost always more than he himself can eat at one time and so must be shared with other members of the household to avoid spoilage.

592

The shift of a member from one large household consisting mainly of young children to a small related household consisting of adults only is recorded. The motive of this exchange was to increase the food shares of the smaller household.

621

The following is an example of the application of village affiliation:

602 592

A widow who is head of a household (41 in table 3, p. 248) is sponsored in Loto by her brother. The oldest daughter is sponsored in Ngake by her mother's second brother, who resides there. The second daughter is sponsored in Loto by the mother's brother, who also sponsors the mother. The next child, a son, is sponsored in Loto by a distant relative of his mother. Another son, adopted but not living with his adopted father, is a *tuangu tau* of that man in Ngake. The next son, the only one affiliating in the village of residence, is a *tuangu tau* of his mother's sister's husband. The infant son affiliates in Ngake with the mother's brother. With no adult male food gatherer in the household, the affiliation arrangement of the children in all three villages brings in the maximum share in food divisions, as all but one member affiliate in Loto and Ngake, the two villages having the largest food reserves. The mother is also able to maintain close ties with her relatives in other villages so that she is not forgotten when a related fisherman makes a good catch. These results are all achieved without sacrificing children by adoption; when the children grow up, the mother is assured of ample support in her old age.

[888]

591 621 623

The shift of an individual from one household to the next within the same village involves no change in village membership. The shift from a household in one village to one in a different village is accompanied by change of affiliation:

Each village holds an annual meeting to make up its membership rolls governing food divisions, organization of work, and composition of reserve land guards and contest teams for the succeeding year. At this time a man who wishes to change his affiliation or to take on a new affiliate from another village requests the head man of the village (today usually an Island Council member) to add his or the child's name to the village rolls. Village members discuss the names of applicants which are added to the village lists if no valid objection is offered. The new member, called a *uelo* of the

stage of transition from matrilineal to patrilineal descent wherein the point of equilibrium had not long been passed in favor of patrilineal descent." This is strikingly parallel to Pukapuka, but unfortunately Kennedy's analysis of Vaitupuan social structure is so unclear that no more particular comparisons may be made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Age Grades

Pukapukan society has a well-developed system of age grades through which each individual passes. Political functions for the island as a whole were at one time exercised by men of the oldest age group, the *tupale*. These men served as an advisory council to the chief (*aliki*), who might be of any age group. Control of village affairs was and is nominally in the hands of all the men of the village, though older men naturally have more power because of their experience; women have no formal political duties. Membership in successive age groups was determined by the functioning of a mechanism called *tai tangata*:

> The age of a person is reckoned from birth. The first woman to give birth to a first-born child in each season of six months, whatever her paternal or maternal lineage or her village, announces that her child is the *tai tangata* for that six-month period, which is then called *te tahalonga o Mea* (the year—six months—of So-and-so). All other children born in the same period are classed in the age group of this *tai tangata* and are known collectively as a *tai tangata* group. Hence a man says: "Koa wanau au i te tahalonga o Mea" (I was born in the year of So-and-so), or, "Ko Mea, te wakaulekiaki o taku tai tangata" (So-and-so is the first-born of my *tai tangata*). If, as occasionally happens, no first-born child is born in the *maina utuutu* (pleasure moons), then the eldest first-born child of the succeeding *maina ya* (taro moons) becomes the *tai tangata* of the preceding *maina utuutu*, and all children born during the twelve-month period are classed with this *tai tangata*. There is thus a slight variability in *tai tangata* periods, but the important thing to remember is the serial temporal order of the *tai tangata*. This enables a person to reckon his age with sufficient accuracy for practical purposes. One *tai tangata* group succeeds its predecessor in progressing from one age grade to the next. No mnemonic device is used to keep track of the order of *tai tangata*.

The Pukapukans named a number of age grades or life periods:

Kotagagaua (child covered by a mat): infant up to the age of about 3 months.
Kalamoemoe (sleeping child): infant from 4 to 12 months.
Kamuuto (immature coconut): boys and girls from walking age to about 10 years, also called te tamaliki or te lamiliki (children).
Tamaalonga and tautitinga (to put on a malo or lift): youths and girls who have reached sociological adulthood.
Kiveitangaloa: young people who have assumed first responsibilities as adults; more commonly called loga and tamawawine.
Tane and wawine: married men and women, adults with families.
Matiwaka or tutgata matua: older men and women of the community, from the age of about 50 years on.
Tupale: the old, gray-haired men of the community, sometimes called in general te kau matua.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

The *lopa*, *tane*, and *wawine* carried out much of the economic and social activity of the community. The *matiroko* generally directed group activities by virtue of their experience. Their advice was also listened to with respect in informal village meetings, and they took the lead in organized village work. The *tupele*, the most important group in the political organization and control of the island as a whole, formed a sort of island council, which, with the chief, governed the island both politically and economically. Each old man lived with his wife and family in his own village but was relieved from the necessity of providing himself with food; the *tupele* were supported by the community, by gifts of taro from the women and by fish caught by the men's *fangonga* fishing group.

All gatherings and meetings of the old men were held at the *ennunga* (*malae*) *no te tupele*, a meeting place formerly situated in Loto village, to the east of the church and to the right of the present road, a site now occupied by houses. The old men might gather at their meeting place each day or several times a week, depending on the business to be transacted and the amount of food to be divided. The number of old men varied from year to year, ranging from 10 to 30. The lowest number on record is six.

There was no special time for the accession to the group of new *tupele*. When a man was sufficiently old and grey, he formally joined the group; his accession might be marked by a small food division among the *tupele* themselves.

It is related that long before the time of Taiva (nine generations ago), the number of old men was increased to include younger men. The younger people were idle and turned their idleness to mischief in working off personal spites and jealousies against still younger adults (*lopa* and *tane*) by withholding food divisions and then resorting to violence when the young men objected. (See p. 301.) Taiva initiated reforms providing that no man might become a *tupele* until he was so old as to be unfit for active work. *Tupele* were therefore so feeble physically that their children had often to carry them to the meetings of the group.

The oldest man of the *tupele* group functioned as their leader. He became the right-hand man of the high chief (*alihi wolo*) by virtue of his experience and age and was then called the *wolo*. The *wolo* was both the spokesman of the chief and the mouthpiece of the people. In addition, he had special priestly powers, and communicated with the major gods of the island on the religious structure of the lineage of the chief. This power was vested in him irrespective of his own lineage membership.

Chieftainship

Status and rank grades in Pukapukan society were not highly developed. The superior chief of the island was *te alihi wolo o Te Ulu-o-te-matu* (the major chief of Head-of-the-stone, Pukapuka). The subordinate chiefs were

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

made a right choice. Apparently no chief was ever deposed; hence the reigns of the chiefs of all the lineages must have been, in general, equally prosperous. In accounts of traditional history it is usual to find the chief displaying supernormal powers, bestowed by the god of his lineage.

In former times, as today, great rivalry was felt between the various lineages of the island, especially between those lineages headed by chiefs. Up to the time of the great seismic wave, no chief was superior to the rest. There was, rather, a shifting balance of power between the four chiefly lineages, temporary superiority going to that lineage which through the intrigue, personality, and strength of its chief, combined with numerical strength of its members, managed to gain predominance for the time. The chief of such a lineage would then claim to be the supreme chief of the island. His claim might be disputed, but as long as he was manifestly superior to the other chiefs nothing would be done about his pretensions. It was only after the seismic wave, with its catastrophic effects, that i Tua seems gradually to have assumed a dominance over the other three chiefly lineages. In the inter-lineage adoption that occurred after the seismic wave, a child from the strong lineage of Muliwutu was adopted into i Tua, to insure the continuation of this chiefly line; this seems to have lined up Muliwutu behind i Tua. With this support, i Tua became dominant and constituted itself the lineage of the supreme chief of the island, a status which it has retained to this day. As a lineage of the supreme chief was politically dominant, so were its gods preeminent over the other lineage gods. Mataliki and Tuna, the major gods of i Tua, may then be considered the major gods of the island; they were most often called upon by the supreme chief to provide favors for the island as a whole. Nevertheless, the other chiefly lineages, particularly those of Ngake, have never completely acquiesced in either the political or religious dominance of i Tua.

Political Control

The functions of the three governing groups on the island may be summarized as follows:

Village meetings (*nuhapano hale*), attended by the chiefs, sub-chiefs, and all adult males of the village, discussed matters affecting the village and the reserves, and settled inter-village disputes. Meetings of the old men's group (*nuhapanonga no te tupele*) discussed island affairs. Meetings of the chiefs (*nuhapanonga a te ua ariki*) discussed island and inter-lineage matters. The division of functions between these governing bodies is not clearly remembered today when the government of the island has been so completely transformed by the resident agent and his nominated Island Council. Informants believed that the supreme chief called the minor chiefs together at unspecified times to discuss matters referred to him by the council of old men (*tupele*). All decisions of the old men were presented to the high chief or the council of chiefs for final approval. Whether or not this approval was nominal depended on the prestige and power of the high chief. Notwithstanding, the final veto seems to have rested with

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

the chief's executive (*uaua*), who had the power to say whether a law should or should not apply to the island (p. 387). Decisions were reported (*kave te rauanga*) to the several villages in a meeting assembled by a special messenger, called simply *te leo o te aliki or te leo o te tupele* (the voice of the chiefs or of the old men). The high chief did not attend the meetings of the old men but sent his representative (*te talatala no te aliki*), who was commissioned to report the chief's opinions to the old men. It is probable that special meetings of all the people of the island were held on occasion to discuss such a matter as the redivision of reserve land, or the realignment of reserve boundaries. A meeting of this type seems to have been in progress at the outbreak of the civil war (p. 389).

The control of village affairs was largely in the hands of the village men. The chief of each village acted as priest in village functions. In theory he devoted his time to the welfare of his people and the control of village works initiated by a decision of the people. The sub-chiefs (*langatila*) were the executive officers, directing village works. Neither chief nor sub-chief received tribute from village or lineage members. Each was fed by his own family group. In island affairs, the chiefs and sub-chiefs were advisory and executive officers, but the real balance of power, in theory at any rate, seems to have been with the old men, who ordered and directed inter-village and island affairs. When the high chief or his executive, who perhaps corresponded to the modern king's prime minister, was an outstanding personality, he might assume for himself many of the powers that ordinarily lay with the old men; these powers would revert to the old men on the chief's death. The governing of the island, therefore, really lay with the group of old men who because of their age and presumed experience were considered better able to order affairs than a chief or his executive.

Sanctions

Sanctions invoked to deal with most antisocial conduct were not secular, but depended on punishment, usually sickness, sent to the wrongdoer by the gods. Lying was condemned but not punished secularly. Adultery was punished both by the gods and by the wronged person (p. 329).

Thieving from the reserves was punished by the gods. In the reign of the chief Tuiavanga, however, when there was a great food shortage, punishment for stealing was reenforced by group action; the law of *pule pae* (death law) was put into operation and implemented by the guards of the reserves (p. 387). Willful homicide seems also to have been punished by group action, perhaps if it was thought that the gods would be too long in acting. The appropriate punishment was whipping to death. The maternal sub-lineage of the victim was either made the instrument of this punishment or assumed collective responsibility for the crime, though should the homicide shock the community by its barbarity, all the populace might join in the beating (1).

If one individual should steal from another, the victim was allowed to be his own detective and judge and would proceed to reenforce the punishment of the gods. The injured person or a friend made inquiries and threatened to kill the thief should he be discovered. The thief might pose as a friend and go to look for the missing articles, simulating intense search, but always return with empty hands. The owner of the stolen property might

Z: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
643, 623

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for governing groups, see p. 19.]